A Short History of Indian Materialism, Sensationalism and Hedonism

BY

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Price Rupees Three only

Published by Janakinath Basu, M.A., for Bookland Private Limited, 1, Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta-6, and Printed by Gouri Sankar Roy Chowdhury at the Basusree Press, 80/6 Grey Street, Calcutta-6

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

Oriental scholars are unanimous that the works on Materialism and Sensationalism in their relation to the Hindu system of Philosophy are very rare, and that this dearth of literature stands in the way of properly understanding Hindu thoughts and ideas in regard to these subjects both in this country and in the West. In the following pages I have attempted to present before the public a bird's eye view of the origin and development of Materialism and Sensationalism in India. I have been urged to make this humble effort not by the belief that my contributions to the knowledge on these subjects are likely to be of any considerable value, but by the hope that insignificant as they are they will serve to attract to the subject the attention of worthier scholars and call forth their energies This short treatise has been designed to prepare the ground for a systematic study of Indian Materialism and I have spared no pains to make it as such. My labours will be amply rewarded if on the perusal of my humble work one single reader feels himself interested in the study of Indian Materialism, Sensationalism and Hedonism

I have much pleasure in acknowledging here my indebtedness to Mahāmohopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., D.Litt., C I E, Mahāmohopādhyāya Dr. Bhāgabat Kumar Shāstri, M.A., Ph.D., and Principal Gopinath Kavirāj, M.A., whose very interesting articles

throw many new lights on the subject. I also express my gratitude to Dr. Mahendra Nath Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., whose class room lectures on Psychology were of help to me. No less is my debt of gratitude to Professor Shyama Charan Mukherjee, M.A., and Srijut Ramsankar Dutt for their valuable help in seeing the book through the press. My thanks are also due to Srijut Upendra Kumar Bose, Librarian, Sanskrit College, and his assistant, who gave me every possible help I needed and to the authorities of the Book Company, Calcutta, for the interest they have taken in the publication of this little book.

I take this opportunity to express my heart felt thanks to Dr. Aditya Nath Mukherjee, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., I.E.S , Dars'ana-sāgar, Principal Sanskrit College who induced me to take up this task, gave me many valuable suggestions.

SANSKRIT COLLEGE,
The 31st March, 1930.

DAKSHINARANJAN SHASTRI.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

It is well known to students of Indian philosophy that the original sūtra works of the materialists, sceptics and agnostics of India are now lost to us. To be compelled to rely exclusively for a certain doctrine or way of thought on its presentation by its avowed opponents are seldom found free from prejudices and personal predilections. Pūrvapakṣas or the opponent's views are almost invariably presented in an inadequate and unsympathetic manner, so that no sound judgment as their proper philosophical worth can be easily formed. If one notes how the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādin Buddhists, the Pās'upatas, and the Pāñarātras have suffered at the hands of S'ankarācārya, it would be clear that the study of a certain system from its presentation by its opponents has to be undertaken with a proper appreciation of these difficulties. An attempt has been made here to collect from different sources fragments of actual statements by the founders and propounders of different schools of the materialists, sceptics and agnostics of India]. [Kusumāñjali, Nyāyamañjari, Advaita-brahmasiddhi, Vivaraṇa-prameya-saṅgraha, and numerous other works by orthodox writers, Hindu and Jain, Sanskrit and Prakrit works, and Buddhist Pali works, all contain a good deal of useful information on these schools. But these are only fragments of the original works of these schools now irrevocably lost to us. The pūrvapakṣas or views of opponents,

in which form they appear in subsequent literature, have been studied in the light of and interpreted consistently in the spirit of, the fragmentary texts yet preserved of the earliest exponents of the systems.

It is pointed out in this connection that the Oriental Institute of Baroda has published in the year 1940 "Tattvopaplavasimha" of Jayarāsi Bhaṭṭa which is an interesting work of the Lokāyata school of philosophy. Attempts have been made in the present edition to utilise Jayarās'i's work.

The first edition of this short history published in 1930 has completely been exhausted long ago Since then the book was almost lost to the interested readers who insisted on its re-publication from time to time. Inspite of the fact that I also felt some sort of responsibility to bring out its second edition, I failed to do so earlier due to my indisposition of health and other unavoidable short-comings. At length, the publication saw the light of the day being embodied with the results of my further study on the subject, the credit of which goes direct to my affectionate Sriman Banikantha Chakravarty B.Sc., C.A. and to the authorities of the Bookland Private Ltd But for their juvenile enthusiasm the matter would have been delayed for unlimited time.

D. R. S.

Calcutta,
The 31st March, 1957.

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A Short History of Indian Materialism, Sensationalism and Hedonism

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INTRODUCTION

Indian materialism has passed through four logical stages of development In its first stage it was a mere tendency of opposition. It called in question all kinds of knowledge, immediate as well as mediate and all evidence perception as well as inference. It denied the authority of even the Vedas. In that period, its name was Bārhaspatya. In its second stage, *Svabhāvavāda,* recognition of perception as a source of knowledge and the theory of the identification of body with the self, were incorporated into it. In that stage, it took the form of a system of philosophy. However low its position may be, in the rank of philosophical systems, it can by no means be denied that, at that remote period of Indian history, it was the only system of philosophy, worthy of its name. In that period flourished famous materialists like Ajita Kes'a-kambalin, Kambalās'vatara and Purāṇa Kās'-yapa. In that stage it came to be known as *Lokāyata.* In its third stage, an extreme form of hedonism, which was due, perhaps, to the

corruption of freedom of thought—social, religious and political, formed the most important feature of this school. Gross sensual pleasure superseded bliss or contemplative joy and licentiousness replaced liberty. Devils occupied the seats of angels. As a consequence of this impact of corruption and misunderstanding, *chārvākism* originated. In that stage this school preached—'Eat, drink and be merry, for, to-morrow we may die.' The reaction to this extreme form of licentiousness was destructive to the very vitality of this school. From that time this extreme form of materialistic school leaned towards spiritualism So long it had maintained that the body was the self In that period, being severely attacked by the spiritualists, it gave up the theory that there was no self apart from the body and tried, gradually, to identify the sense organs, breath, and the organ of thought with the self. Before that the materialists had affirmed that inference was not a means of knowledge. But in this stage they accepted at first Probability and then even Inference, though in a restricted form, as a source of true knowledge Philosophers, like Purandara, were the advocates of this form of Indian materialism. In its fourth stage, it came to be at one with the Buddhists and the Jains in opposing the Vedicists and got the common designation *Nāstika*. A *Nāstika* is one who condemns the Vedas—*Nāstiko Veda-nindakah.* The texts, added in the appendix with evidences of their

genuineness, record some of the views of these different stages in a blended form. As the literature of this school is now entirely lost, except what has reached us in fragments, we are quite unable to give here, verbatim, all the original *Sūtras* of this school which represent its various aspects and phases. But there are passages both in Sūtra and sloka form which embody in substance these different stages of the Lokāyata school We can have a complete systematic work of the materialists of India if we gather them together in a sympathetic manner

Tradition ascribes to Brhaspati the first treatise of this school and there is no reason for rejecting this view It is evident from the Sūtras extant and quoted under Brhaspati's name that he was not a mythical figure He was an historical personage But it is very difficult to ascertain who this Brhaspati was. It is probable that the conception of this school first dawned on Brhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, who is regarded by scholars like Professor Belvālkar as the first founder of this Bārhaspatya system If we be authorised to give the credit of founding this system to more men than one then we should like to mention the names of Ajita Kes'akambalin, Chārvāka and Purandara as the second, third and fourth founders respectively of the Lokāyata, Chārvāka and Nāstika systems. We know from the Mahābhāṣya of Patanjali that Bhāguri was one of the expounders of the Lokāyata dogmas. Not a single Sūtra attributed to Bhāguri of the

Lokāyata school having been recovered we cannot give him any position in these stages of development of Indian Materialism and Sensationalism. We shall deal, now, in the following pages, with these four distinct steps of evolution of Indian Materialism more elaborately.

EVOLUTION OF MATERIALISM AND SENSATIONALISM IN INDIA

In ancient India, the necessaries of life being abundantly provided for by nature, the struggle for existence was not very keen. The people's tastes were not nice. In order to escape from the heat of the tropical sun, they took up their abode in the shady groves or in the caves of mountain valleys. Their peace of mind was not disturbed by political strife. In the absence of the art of writing the people were a stranger to literary ambition, nor were their energies called forth by art or science. There was no literature except what could be retained in memory The metaphysical and religious problems formed almost the only subjects of speculation. They meditated on how and why the world was in which they lived. What were they ? Whence came they ? Whither went they ? What had they to do ? They made an endeavour to answer these questions in their own way, and thus laid the foundation of philosophical enquiries in India. These queries are recorded in the Vedas, the oldest literature of mankind still extant. These earliest attempts cannot properly be called philosophical systems, rigidly consistent and calmly reasoned. They are mere tendencies scattered and unsystematic like landmarks in an ocean. After a long course of development, from the first hesitating and imperfect stage of tendencies, they became perfect. Amongst these re-arranged, systematic, consistent calmly reasoned, perfect systems of Indian

philosophy materialism can be counted as very old. Some go so far as to count it as the oldest and adduce, among others, the following reasons in support of their opinion. It is a fact that all other schools, in their respective systems, try to refute the truths established by this school, thus admitting its priority. It is also a fact that the word Dars'ana in its primary sense means perception. In its secondary sense it means the S'āstra which is as good an authority as perception. This emphasis on perception reminds us of the materialists and there are scholars who maintain that the word was first originated by the followers of Bṛhaspati. It was from them that the word was borrowed by other schools. This fact induces them to establish the priority of this Dars'ana to all other Dars'anas. Scholars are, also, bold enough to declare that the materialistic school is the only original school of philosophy All other schools were originated, simply, for the sake of refuting and destroying this school whose teachings according to them were detrimental to the best interests of mankind. Others, again, do not go so far. It may be, say they, as old as other schools of philosophy, but not older Materialism is preached nowhere as a doctrine of philosophy, except as a re-action against some perverted ideas or practices. The materialists of India, namely, Bṛhaspati and his followers, do not pretend to lay down a constructive system of philosophy of their own. They try to refute foolish orthodoxy of other schools. This, in their

opinion, proves that the system of Bṛhaspati cannot be the first system. It is rather the last. It raises objections against the views of all other systems and pre-supposes the existence of all other schools, thereby

But all systems of philosophy are the growth of years, nay, of centuries. The systems which we possess of the different schools of philosophy, each distinct from the other, are rather the last summing up of what had been growing up among many generations of isolated thinkers and cannot claim to represent the very first attempts at a systematic treatment. A large mass of philosophical thought must have existed in India long before there was any attempt at dividing it into well defined departments of systematic philosophy or reducing it to writing. But such a growth must have required a great length of time. So it is probable that during that long period the views of one system were discussed in another. During that long period anything could be added and anything left out. Subsequently each system reached the form in which we possess it It is not improbable that the Lokāyata school of philosophy, being developed as the first system of philosophy, raised objections against the views of other schools which were even then mere tendencies and which took shape as systems later on. Thus, although, as mere tendencies almost all philosophical thoughts are contemporaneous, as systems they belong to different ages. The school of Bṛhaspati is regarded as the weakest

school of philosophy in comparison with other schools. The law of evolution or gradual development proves that the earliest school is the weakest and the latest the strongest If the Materialistic school be the weakest, it is probable that it is the earliest also

The First Stage.

Originally, this school of Brhaspati meant Vitaṇḍā or casuistry and nothing else. In it Vitaṇḍā was essential With its impatience of all authority, it tried to refute the views of other schools It was, in its original stage, without any constructive element and without any positive theory to propound It was negative and destructive. The record of this period is kept by Jayarās'i Bhatta, author of Tattvopaplava Simha. This negative aspect of this doctrine finds expression in the Vedas themselves From the earliest Vedic times, there were people who denied the existence of even the Vedic deities The Vedic hymns pointedly refer to scoffers and unbelievers. Those hymns, which are traditionally ascribed to Brhaspati, son of Loka, contain the first germs of protest against a mere verbal study of the Veda and emphatically declare that a man, who tries to understand the Veda, is far superior to a mere sacerdotal priest The Maṇḍūka hymn is a panegyric of frogs who are described as raising their voices together at the commencement of the rains like Brahmin pupils repeating the lessons of their teachers and this celebrated hymn on frogs is a satire, says Professor Maxmuller, upon the Vedic priesthood, or better upon the system of hymn

Vitaṇḍā.

chanting. Yāska clearly tells us that those who merely memorise the texts, without knowing the meaning, do not see the real form of the Veda and that such people are deluded, in as much as the way to attain the summum bonum is not revealed to them In various Brāhmanas mere knowledge of a performance has been mentioned as having the same effect as the performance itself. In the Chhāndogya Upanisad it is stated that a performance accompanied by knowledge, produces a better result than a performance without knowledge. Jaimini, in his Pūrva mīmānsā system, recording this opposition devotes an entire chapter to drawing the conclusion that study consists not only in learning by heart the letter of the Veda but also in clearly understanding its spirit. Traces of an opposition to the religion of the Vedas appear in the Vedas and in later works. In Aitareya Āranyaka we find—'Why should we repeat the Veda or offer this kind of sacrifice !' Later on the very authoritativeness of the Vedas was questioned by Kautsya Opposition was the only duty of the followers of Brhaspati and they did it from the very beginning of their career. They opposed the Vedas and the practice of repeating them without understanding their meaning. But all these represent only the opposing, destructive or negative aspect of the Bārhaspatya system. And it is well-known that a system ceases to have any great interest and even value without a constructive element, without a positive theory to

propound So the doctrine of the followers of Bṛhaspati appeared to be incomplete without any positive element in it It felt the necessity of a positive element Everybody knows that necessity is the mother of invention Bārhaspatya in its very early stage found out the means of being complete So long under the designation Bārhaspatya it admitted no authority other than its own Now, in its second stage, in explanation of the why of an event or product it accepted the doctrine of *Svabhāva* This doctrine of *Svabhāva* maintains that 'the effects are self existent and are produced neither by different things as causes nor by themselves inasmuch as no cause can be found for the filament of the lotus or the eye-like marks on the peacock's tail If it cannot be found it certainly does not exist Such is the case with this diversified universe Similarly, feelings like pleasure, pain, etc , have no causes, because they appear only at times'. This doctrine of *Svabhāva* had been in vogue in independent forms In course of centuries this doctrine, like many other doctrines, lost its independence altogether and came to be affiliated to the Bārhaspatya system The consequence of this gradual assimilation has been a blending of thoughts. The followers of Brhaspati became at one with, and the earliest representatives of, the extreme form of Svabhāva vāda. From this time, the rejection of causal principle, the rejection of good and evil consequences of actions, formed its most important feature. The

Bārhaspatya

product comes into existence without any cause. This materialistic view was emphasised by Bṛhaspati in Vedic times 'In the first age of the gods the existent was born of the non-existent—*Asatah Sadajāyata.* The S'vetās'-vatara Upanisad contains a nominal enunciation of some of the most popular theories current in its times in explanation of the origin of the universe and Naturalism forms one of this number—*Kālah Svabhāvo Niyatirya-drchhā*, etc Up till then it was an independent doctrine and the Bārhaspatyas were merely the oppositionists Brhaspati, with a lofty enthusiasm, flung away the fetters of religion that he might be righteous and noble. Some of the verses of the Vedic hymns ascribed to Brhaspati are very noble in thought. Whatever may be said of his followers, his own teachings were of an elevated character. Brhaspati had many followers and all of them were independent thinkers raising objections against the current superstitions. It is perhaps for his freedom of thought that he was regarded as the priest—the adviser,—the counsellor of India, the king of the gods.

But this state of things changed very soon. A re-action against the school of Bṛhaspati appeared on the stage Perhaps the negative or destructive element of the doctrine was responsible for this reaction. The Vedic literature, posterior to the Mantras is disfigured by filthy story and anecdotes in which the pious sages poured out vials of their wrath on the devoted heads of those early oppositionists,

i.e., Bṛhaspati and his followers. The Taittirīya Brāhmana relates an interesting anecdote which runs as follows. 'Once upon a time Bṛhaspati struck the goddess Gāyatrī on the head. The head smashed into pieces and the brain split. But Gāyatrī is immortal. She did not die. Every bit of her brain was alive' Some scholars have found a very valuable truth behind this anecdote. They find an allegorical meaning here. Gāyatrī is the symbol of Hinduism Bṛhaspati tried to destroy it by introducing opposition But Hinduism is eternal It was not destroyed In Maitrāyaṇa Upanisad we find another anecdote—Bṛhaspati having assumed the shape of S'ukra brings forth false knowledge for the safety of Indra and for the destruction of the Asuras By it the Asuras show that good is evil and evil is good ; and they say that this new law, which upsets the Vedas, should be studied. Here Bṛhaspati is painted as a deceiver—a hypocrite. The Mahābhārata records a story of this period relating how Bṛhaspati the sceptic had a long discussion with Manu, one of the founders of the sacrificial cult and was in the end converted to the latter's view point Another anecdote records—'The reason why I was born a jackal' says a character 'is that I was a blamer of the Vedas, a reviler and opposer of priests, an unbeliever and a doubter of all things'. In another place it records—'The ignorant and unbelieving man who has a soul of doubt is destroyed ; neither this world nor the next exists, nor happiness for him who

has a soul of doubt' In another place of the Mahābhārata which records past events, an unbeliever is threatened with a sudden enlightenment hereafter—'the devil in hell will soon change your ideas on that subject.' The worst, that is said of Bṛhaspati's teaching, is that it is drawn from a study of the female intellect which is full of subtilty and deceit. The Viṣṇupurāṇa records—that a number of Daityas one day, in ancient times, began to practise severe penances following the injunctions of the Vedas This caused great apprehension to Indra At his prayer Māyāmoha was created who preached to the demons the pernicious doctrines of Bṛhaspati not for their benefit but for their destruction. They having been gradually overpowered by that folly, became enemies to Brāhmaṇas, gave up their duties and were averse to the study of the Vedas Then, as they had strayed from religious observances, Indra killed them. Almost similar is the account recorded in the Padmapurāṇa All human institutions prosper through opposition As a re-action against the opposition of Bṛhaspati and his followers, the Vedic schools were then more extensively engaged in popularising the Vedic creed of life by means of the most elaborate and thorough-going presentations and expositions of their Vedic doctrines. The result was the production of the six Vedāngas, the Smṛtis, the Epics The
and such other helping works. Never has Vedāngas
religion flourished with such luxuriance and in such wide variety, from the purest to the

most abominable shapes, as in this period of Indian cultural history. A dark shadow fell upon the oppositionists—the independent thinkers. All independent line of thinking became for hundreds of years to come an impossibility through the powerful influence of various schools of the Vedicists

The Second Stage.

Naturalism and Perception

The state of things turned, however, through the influence of Naturalism Opposed by the strong advocates of the orthodox community the Lokāyatikas returned with the affiliation of naturalism or Svabhāvavāda Neither of these two doctrines Lokāyata and Svabhāvavāda accepted the good or evil consequences of actions. The Lokāyata school, which was so long a mere tendency, with the incorporation of naturalism, formed a philosophical system Thus originated the first

Lokāyata

Dars'ana or the *Lokāyata Darśana* Perception was emphasised in the very name of this newly built-up system, *i e*, Dars'ana So long the Bārhaspatyas did not admit any authority whatsoever. Now, in its new shape, the school accepted the authority of perception Perception became the only criterion of existence Whatever was not perceived was held to have no existence at all. The causal principle was rejected, because, sensuous perception is not an evidence in support of its existence. For mere perception of two events, which stand isolated and self-contained, is not sufficient to establish between them a causal relation. 'To ascertain whether a given antecedent condition has the

character of a true cause it is really necessary to find out with certainty the elements of invariability and of relevancy involved in such a notion. But this certitude can never be arrived at' The universal propositions cannot be established by our limited perceptions. Perception presupposes actual contact of the object with the perceiving organ and is thus necessarily confined to the present It is a case of here and now. It does not extend to the past or the future and is thus unable to establish universal connection of things In other words, sense perception can give us only particular truths But knowledge of particular facts cannot give us knowledge which is universally true Therefore perception cannot give us universal relation Nor can universal relation be established by Inference alone For, the inference, which yields a universal relation as its conclusion, cannot work unless it presupposes another universal connection as a necessary pre-condition of its possibility and that again another and so on In other words, the process of reaching a universal conclusion is always like arguing in a circle. *Vyāpti* is derived from *Anumāna* and *Anumāna* again from *Vyāpti* Thus even inference in itself is not sufficient to produce a universal proposition. Nor is the universal relation supplied by testimony. For, testimony involves inference. Comparison is equally unable to establish a universal relation. Comparison only establishes the relation of a name to something that bears that name. Now, such

relation of the name and of the named is a particular relation, whilst we are in search of an unconditional universal relation Thus, the universal relation, which is indispensable to all inference, is not given by any of the so-called sources of knowledge Therefore, universal relation cannot, by any means, be established. As inference is not possible without universal connection and universal connection is unattainable the Lokāyata as a system discarded, in its earlier stages, inference as a source of knowledge

It rejected ether as an element, because, ether cannot be known by perception and it maintained that the four elements of earth, air, fire and water are the original principles of all things The four elements, in their atomic condition,* when mixed together in a certain

* The theory that matter consists of "atoms", i e of little bits that cannot be divided, is very old But in its old shape it was only a speculation The evidence for what is called the atomic theory was derived from chemistry, and the theory itself, in its nineteenth-century form, was mainly due to Dalton in Europe It was found that there were a number of 'elements' and that other substances were compounds of these elements Compound substances were found to be composed of molecules, each molecule being composed of 'atoms' of one substance combined with atoms of another or of the same A molecule of water consists of two atoms of hydrogen and one atom of oxygen , they can be separated by electrolysis It was supposed, until radio-activity was discovered, that atoms were indestructible and unchangeable Substances which were not compounds were called elements The discovery of radio-activity led to the conclusion that what had been called 'atoms' were really complex structures, which could change into atoms of a different sort by losing a part After various attempts at imagining the

proportion and according to a certain order, become transformed into an organism

Consciousness is a function of the body. For the manifestation of consciousness, body is an indispensable factor. Consciousness does not inhere in particles of matter When these particles come to be arranged into a specific form, in a manner not yet scientifically explicable, they are found to show signs of life. Life and consciousness are indentical. Our thinking power is destroyed with the dissolution of the elements from whose combination it **Evolution of consiousness**

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structure of an atom, physicists were led to accept the view of Sir Ernest Rutherford, which was further developed by Niels Bohr In this theory, all matter is composed of two sorts of units, electrons and protons. All electrons are exactly alike, and all protons are exactly alike All protons carry a certain amount of positive electricity, and all electrons carry an equal amount of negative electricity Protons repel each other and electrons repel each other, but an electron and a proton attract each other Every atom is a structure consisting of electrons and Protons The hydrogen atom, which is the simplest, consists of one proton with one electron going round it as a planet goes round the sun The electron may be lost, and the proton left alone , the atom is then positively electrified The great merit of Bohr's theory was that it explained why elements have the Spectra they do have, which had, before, been a complete mystery According to this theory of atomic structure 'an atom' with its electrons is a system characterised by certain *integers* all small, and all capable of changing independently The newer theory has been put forward in 1925, mainly by two German physicists, Heisenberg and Schrodinger, owing to them, the last vestiges of the old solid atom have melted away, and matter has become as ghostly as anything in a spiritualist séance Broadly speaking, it describes the atom by means of the radiations that come out of it This newer theory confines itself to what is empirically verifiable namely radiations , as to what there is where the radiations come from we cannot tell,

is evolved. Consciousness is produced from the body which is endowed with life and vital air Without sensation no consciousness is possible. When the body perishes no consciousness can remain It must perish also So there is nothing to transmigrate The body, consciousness and sense organs are momentary. Mind is merely the product of a combination of elements, just as, some acid eructations or wines are results of chemical combinations. The four elements when combined produce or manifest the mind. There is no other reality than the four *Bhūtas* The instinctive movements and expressions of new-born babes are due to 'external stimuli as much as the opening and closing of the lotus and other flowers at different hours of the day or night, or the movement of iron under the influence of load stone In the same way the spontaneous generation of living organisms is frequently observed, *e.g.*, the case of animalcules which develop in moisture or infusions, especially under the influence of gentle warmth or of the maggots or other worms which in the rainy season by reason of the atmospheric moisture, are developed in the constituent particles of curds and the like, which begin to live and move in so short a time' It is an indisputable fact that sensations and perceptions can arise

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and it is scientifically unnecessary to speculate The mainpoint for the philosopher in the modern theory is the disappearance of matter as a "thing" It has been replaced by emanations from a locality—the sort of influences that characterise haunted rooms in ghost stories —*Russell*

only in so far as they are conditioned by a bodily mechanism But, it would not be so were not the body the receptacle of consciousness The properties of particular preparations of food and drink, conducive to the development of the intellectual powers, afford another proof in favour of the fact that consciousness is a function of the body. Points and evidences of correspondence between mind and body—correspondence between the Psychical and Nervous processes—and correspondence between mind and brain, the seat of mind, are not rare The most definite aspects of this correspondence are—correspondence in quantity—the correspondence in change, correspondence in growth and development, correspondence in inheritance and correspondence in quality. When communication is cut off between the brain and any other part of the body owing to the nerves of that part being diffused, there is no longer any feeling or sensation connected with that part Psychological experiments prove measurable interval of time between the application of stimulus and the corresponding sensation Prolonged thought and intense emotion produce the sensation of fatigue and exhaustion in the brain and if carried further produce pain and disorder Increase of mental work is accompanied by an increase of brainwork. Intense mental activity is followed by a casting off of a kind of brain substance known as phosphorus. Comparison of the brains of different creatures and different races of men and of different

individuals shows that there is a connection between intelligence and the size, weight and complexity of the brain Generally speaking the larger the brain, in relation to the rest of the body, the more the intelligence. So the Lokāyatas say that Mind is only a form or product of the body. The ultimate reality is matter Consciousness is a function of the body. As contraction is the function of muscles, as the kidneys secrets urine, so and in the same way does the brain generate thoughts, movements and feelings. Mind, therefore, has no substantial reality of its own, but, springs out of the vibrations of the molecules of the brain When the molecular activity of the brain sinks below a certain level generally known as the threshold of consciousness, consciousness disappears, mind ceases to exist as in sleep When, again, it rises above a certain degree consciousness re-appears Conscious life is not a life of continuity It is coming out of and again going into nothing The hypothesis of a continuous stream of consciousness is a myth of the Divines and the Theologians This theory is some times known as the Theory of automatism—mind is merely Epiphenomenon or by-product But there is a difficulty in establishing this theory The spiritualists raised an objection against the newly built-up materialistic system. The objection is this. As the body is declared to be the agent of all actions it should be held responsible for their natural consequences. But this is impossible. The particles which form

The ultimate reality in matter

the body are always in a state of flux and the body which performs an action at one moment does not persist at the next to feel its re-action. It is on the other hand undeniable that the body suffers change Otherwise they could not have different sizes To this, the reply of the Lokāyatikas is this The Lokāyata system does not admit the existence of *Karmaphala* or the consequence of good or evil actions The experience of pleasure and pain comes by chance Nature is all powerful Moreover, recognition proves the identity of the body through all its changing states There is another difficulty The spiritualists advance another objection against the materialists. The objection is put in the following manner. The theory of matter is unable to account for the facts of memory and recognition Necessity of thought demands that memory and original experience which gives rise to it should be referred to one and the same conscious subject. But this identity of reference would be possible only when the subject is fundamentally an unchangeable unity This difficulty is removed by the Lokāyatikas in the following manner. The traces left by previous experiences are capable of being transmitted from the material cause down to its direct product, an analogous instance being the transference of the odour of musk to the cloth in contact with it But the general answer, of this school to every why is the doctrine of Svabhāva. Everything happens through the influence of Svabhāva which is all-powerful It is Svabhāva or law

of nature that the consciousness is a function of the body and the body is the self The Lokāyatikas refuted the theory of Paraloka—or previous and future births as there was no reality existing before birth or after death The four 'bhūtas' or atoms of primary elements are the only realities Mind is the production of these elements So it cannot be maintained that the mind at death passes on to another body. Mind in different bodies must be different The consciousness of a body which has already perished cannot be related to the body which comes into being One mind cannot produce another mind after total annihilation. The theory that the foetus is endowed with consciousness cannot be asserted Without sensation no consciousness is possible All knowledge is derived from sense experience alone All knowledge is posterior to and derived from experience The sense organs cannot receive sensations when they are not in existence Therefore the foetus cannot be endowed with consciousness. No power is possible without a recipient. When the body perishes consciousness cannot remain as there is no recipient of consciousness With the destruction of the body consciousness, also, must perish If you hold that the previous, present and future births are nothing but particular conditions of the stream of consciousness which according to you is eternal the Lokāyatikas would say that the chain of consciousness is not an entity and a condition that can be predicated only in respect of an entity cannot

therefore be proved. A future existence of an entity which is non-existent cannot be predicated. With this line of argumentation the Lokāyatikas of that period rejected the existence of future or previous births. The Lokāyatikas of that stage also maintained that there was no soul apart from the body. If there be any soul it is only the living principle of all organisms. It exists so long as our body exists and ceases to exist when the body ceases to exist. It is the body that feels, sees, hears, remembers and thinks. In sayings like 'I am fat,' 'I am lean,' 'I am dark', by 'I' we evidently mean the body. Fatness, leanness or darkness reside only in the body. Such phrases as 'my body' are metaphorically used. Just as a knave might induce an innocent person to accept glass and such other worthless materials in exchange for precious stones so has the S'ruti misled the innocent devotee by making him believe that the soul is distinct from the body, displacing his inborn, and therefore the right belief that the body and the soul are identical. As nothing like soul exists after death to go to the next world there is no necessity of admitting the existence of such a place.

The existence of Fate denied

With the denial of Karmaphala this school denied the existence of the universal mysterious agency called Fate or Adṛsta or Daiva. It denied the existence of merits or demerits acquired in our previous existence. In answer to the objections that fate must be admitted as the cause of the differences and determinations of the phenomenal world Bṛhaspati's followers bring forward the doc-

trine of Svabhāva or spontaneous generation of things according to their respective natures. So there is no use practising virtue and avoiding sins. Religion is as harmful as opium intoxication. Prayer is the hope of men who are weak, without will power to do anything; worship is an insincere egoism to save one self from the tortures of hell; prophets are the greatest liars among men. The Vedas are no authority. There are mantras in the Vedas which do not convey any meaning whatsoever; some mantras are ambiguous; some are absurd; some are contradictory; some repeat what is already known. As regards the other portions of the Vedas we always find discrepancies and contradictions among them. Cases are not rare where a line of action prescribed by one text is condemned by another. Again, they speak of results that are never realised. Some

The Vedas attacked

portions are rejected by the Vedicists themselves as interpolations. There are proper names and epithets as well as foolish statements like the ravings of a mad man. Hence the Vedas are not only human compositions but even worse. The buffoon, the knave, and the demon—these are the three authors of the Vedas. All the obscene rites commended for the queen in the horse sacrifice have been invented by knaves. So also the custom of giving presents to priests and that of eating flesh have been commended by night-prowling demons. If it were possible for the sacrifices to make one reach heaven after the performances have ceased, the performers themselves

have perished and the requisites have been used up, then the trees of a forest burnt down by fire might produce abundant fruit The exercises of religion and the practices of asceticism are merely a means of livelihood for men devoid of intellect and manliness Therefore the so-called sacred books, the three Vedas, have been composed by rogues and can command no authority A *Putresti* sacrifice performed for the birth of a child may yield either of the two results—positive and negative which is doubtful When a child is born the knaves say that it is due to the power of their incantations uttered in performing the rites When a child is not born they explain the event as being due to the rites being incomplete in some way or other The priests say that a beast slain in a sacrifice will itself go to heaven How is it that they do not kill their own old fathers in a sacrifice in order to send them directly to heaven ? If the offerings in a funeral ceremony may produce gratification to beings who are dead, then in the case of travellers, when they start it is needless to give provisions for the jorney All these ceremonies were ordered by the Brahmins as a means of their livelihood. They are worth no better than that Hence, our religious ceremonies our endeavour to propitiate the gods, to satisfy them by prayers and offerings are vain and illusive Religion is the invention of individuals desirous of deceiving their fellow men inorder to further their own selfish and ambitions motives. So let us eat, drink, be merry, for to-morrow we

die. As the consequence of this kind of thinking, Kāma or fulfilment of desire, became the summum bonum of human life They were in search of the supreme bliss or contemplative joy, which was available in freedom only. They maintained that there is no particular place named heaven Even the Vedas themselves doubt the existence of a world beyond If a man may go to another world after death why may he not come back again perturbed by the love of his friends and relatives ? When once the body is reduced to ashes how can it ever go to another world ? When we die, everything ends there. We do not enter into a region of pain or of darkness unrelieved by a single ray of light. That God is the judge, does not stand to reason, because, in that case partiality and cruelty on the part of God will be indispensable If God visits us with the evil consequences of our sins He becomes our enemy for nothing Therefore it is better not to have a God than to have a cruel and partial God So there is not even such a thing as God, the Supreme author and governor of the world, an omniscient spirit. The senses cannot reach Him, *Adrsta*, principle of causality, and inference itself have been denied. The Vedas reveal no signs of infallibility. How can we ascertain that an all-knowing, all-pervading and all-powerful spirit exists ? Nature and not God, is the watch word of our School.

With this enlightened credo the Lokāyatikas laid aside the traditional life of religion and settled down to strain every fibre of their

being, so long frittered away for heaven's sake, for working out their immediate earthly welfare. The result of this movement was an aspiration for freedom By freedom they meant all-round freedom—freedom for the individual as well as for society, freedom for man as well as for woman, freedom for the rich as well as for the poor, freedom for all individuals and for all classes They exhorted all to cast off all the shackles which had bound them for ages and to march shoulder to shoulder towards freedom The wonderful consequence of this struggle for freedom was the rise of Buddhistic culture Buddha's views against the vedic sacrifices, the memorising of the vedic mantras and fruitless repetition to retain them in memory, the caste system, the authority of the Vedas and the worship of the deities, the magic practices and the mortifications and other ascetic practices—have their counterpart in the views of Lokāyata It is perhaps for the reason that Buddhism was greatly influenced by the Lokāyata School that we find in later accounts of Lokāyata the doctrines of Buddha and Chārvāka almost amalgamated and the name Chārvāka sometimes applied to Buddha India had been seething with free thinking and Buddha was the product of this freedom No man ever lived so godless yet so god-like a life. But the people were not satisfied merely with social and religious freedom. Their aspiration was for political freedom also. This aspiration was realised in the rise of Politics.
Chandra Gupta and his grand-son Asoka who

brought the jarring states of India under one rule and set up the Mouryya Empire. Politics became incorporated with the Lokāyata School, which ignored *Ānvīkṣikī* and *Trayī*, the sciences dealing with the supersensuous, and appreciated *Daṇḍanīti* and Vārtā Coercion and Economics, as the only branches of knowledge deserving special cultivation. The earthly king became the only god. So long, Kāma or pleasure was considered to be the only good of human life Now Artha or material advantage, was added to it As the Lokāyatikas captured the hearts of the cultured and the common people, they became earnest in working out their immediate earthly welfare The result

Fine arts of this movement was the generation and propagation of different arts and sciences Vātsyāyana keeps records of some sixty-four names of Indian fine arts which flourished probably in this period of Indian materialism Kambalās'vatara, Ajitakes'akambalin and many other materialists flourished and wrote their works on Indian materialism in this period The Sāmānna phalasūtta keeps the following records of Ajita's view There is no such duty as the giving of alms or sacrifice or offering There is neither fruit nor result of good and evil deeds There is no such thing as this world or the next There is neither father nor mother nor beings springing into life without them There are, in the world, no recluses or Brahmans who having understood, and realised by themselves alone both this world and the next make their wisdom

known to others. A human being is built up of four elements. When he dies the earthy in him returns and relapses to the earth, the fluid to the water, the heat to the fire and the windy to the air. The four bearers take his dead body away, till they reach the burning ground men utter forth eulogies but there his bones are bleached and his offerings end in ashes. It is a doctrine of fools, the talk of gifts. It is an empty lie, mere idle talk when men say there is prophet therein. Fools and the wise, alike, on the dissolution of the body are cut off, annihilated and after death they are not. This Ajita flourished during the life-time of Buddha. Up to that time Politics was not incorporated with the Lokāyatika. So there is no trace of politics noticeable in the teachings of Ajita. In later accounts, specially in the record preserved by Krisna Mis'ra, it is mentioned very distinctly. Krisna Mis'ra gives almost a perfect account of the doctrines of the Lokāyata School, formed in that period. His account contains almost all the elements belonging to the teachings of this School. "Lokāyata is always the only s'āstra. In it, only perceptual evidence is authority. The elements are earth, water, fire and air. Wealth and enjoyment are the objects of human existence. Matter can think. There is no other world. Death is the end of all."*

Ajita's view

*लोकायनमेव शास्त्रम्। प्रत्यक्षमेव प्रमाणं। पृथिव्यप्तेजो वायव स्तत्त्वानि। अर्थकामौ पुरुषार्थौं। भूतान्येव चेतयन्ते। नास्तिपरलोक दण्डनीतिरेव विद्या। अत्रैव वार्त्तान्तर्भवति। धूर्त्त प्रलाप स्त्रयी।

The Third Stage.

This prosperity and success of the Lokāyata system ended in corruption and misunderstanding Extreme form of freedom gave birth to licentiousness. Supreme bliss was transformed into sensual pleasure Enjoyment of pleasure —gross sensual pleasure—became the only end of human life. Licentiousness became predominant in the country India lost its previous supremacy—freedom of society, freedom of religion and freedom of polity People became slaves of their senses Elevated teachings of Bṛhaspati became absorbed into the eroticism of his wicked followers Gratification of the senses became the only good of this School. Let us enjoy pleasure and pleasure alone. Pleasure is the only thing which is true and good. The only reasonable end of man is enjoyment. We know pleasure is never pure, never free from pain. How then can pleasure be the highest end of life ? But because there is pain and because pleasure is mixed with pain should we therefore reject our life ? Should we fling away sheaves of paddy rich with the finest white grains because they are covered with husk and dust ? Should we refrain from plucking lotuses as there are thorns in them ? Shall we not take fish because there are bones and scales ? Should we exclude rice from our meal only for the trouble it will give in husking ? Who will not soothe his mind and body in ambrosial moonlight though there are spots in the moon ? Shall we not enjoy the pleasant breeze of summer, because, there is slight dust

Pleasure, the only good.

in it ? Shall we abstain from sowing in a ploughed land watered by rain, lest the water on its surface should become muddy ? Should we not prepare food for fear of beggars ?" Unmixed happiness is not available in this world ; yet we cannot overlook the least bit of it. In worldly life we smile on the weal of our dear ones and weep in their woes. If the laughing face of a son or the lustre of a delightful daughter can impart to us celestial happiness why will not their death or their attack with some fatal disease find us overwhelmed with grief ? If the presence of a beloved wife makes a heaven of this earth, her departure will surely leave us in eternal darkness Thus what gives you pleasure now will cause your pain another time We cannot totally get rid of troubles even when we have no tie of affection in this wide world The heart of a man who has none to call his own in this populous world, is but depressed, full of misery and dry as a desert He must not be a common man, who even in such conditions can maintain peace of mind But even a man who is quite aloof from all social ties cannot escape occasional mishaps, *viz.*, disease and accidents The sudden attack of an ailment can make a total change in our happy state of affairs. And, when health goes, it takes away pleasure with it. The loveliness of a moonlit night, the cool breeze at day break, the beauty and scent of flowers, the melodious songs of sweet birds—none of these can please a man when he is not in health. You may remain jolly even without

a friend But bodily pain is sure to render you feeble and restless Besides, we are in terrible distress by occasional appearance of cyclone and thunderstorm, sudden attack of a ferocious animal, or, the undesirable occurrence of famine, drought or deluge Still we must say that this world of ours is not full of troubles True, there is sorrow everywhere, in kings' palaces and beggars' huts, in the high souls of the learned and the superstitious minds of the illiterate, in the beautiful mansions of the luxurious and the dark caves of the sages Sleep in your house or walk outside, enter the temple or hide in the forest, run to the burial place or wherever you like,—no where can you escape misery and pain Still we must say that the amount of pleasure in this world is greater than that of pain If such be not the case, why do people so earnestly desire to live and become frightened at the name of death ? Tell them to renounce this world, and they will at once exhibit utter reluctance For, how is it possible to bid adieu to this pleasant world which is the abode of joys and luxuries ? How delicate are the green leaves of the spring, and how lovely is the rose ! Is not the sunshine a glorious thing ?

If sorrows were more frequent than delight, men would have escaped misery by suicide. Most men are unwilling to die ; and hence it is evident that in human affairs pleasure has a larger sphere of influence than pain. It is also to be remembered that happiness is at its best only when experienced by contrast with misery ;

and hence, it may be said that existence of troubles in the world has a certain necessity. Blessings of rest can be fully enjoyed only after hard labour The ever healthy man cannot comprehend the ease and comfort of having a sound body and a sound mind. If you are to receive full satisfaction in your diet, suffer from hunger first The more you sustain the agony of thirst, the greater will be your delight in drinking cool water You fear a dreadful night with heavy rainfall and terrific thunderstorm when dark and dense clouds have covered the whole sky, and all the trees and houses have been blown away by the furious wind. But after such tedious hours, when the sun with celestial beauty appears for the first time on the eastern horizon of the bright sky dispersing the lingering darkness and unfolding all the lotuses of the earth will you not look more pleasant than ever ? The same thing happens when two lovers meet after long separation. They have long been tormented by the heart-rending affliction, and they have shed constant tears and breathed out many a long sigh Now, their re-union will produce a heavenly bliss which an ever-happy couple cannot have any idea of Perpetual happiness may be desirable, but it is practically unbearable What pleases you now, will be disgusting after constant use Even a palatable dish cannot but bring satiety if we are to take it daily. Variety of taste is needed, pungent, astringent, and bitter flavours should be interchanged with sweets So, it is foolishness, no doubt, to overlook pleasure only

on the ground that it is not constant owing to the intervention of pain Therefore, a man should do that which yields pleasure in the end. Even sages like Vyāsa tell you that one should fulfil the desire of a woman who is overcome with passion The moon-god, the lord of the twice-born, enjoyed very eagerly the wife of his preceptor Brhaspati, the founder of our School. Everybody knows the story of Indra, the god of gods, and Ahalyā the wife of Gotama. Hence, there is no need of restraining sexual appetite. Enjoy all sorts of pleasure, according to your own desire Where is unanimity among the great men in accepting the interpretations of the S'ruti and the Smrtis? An intelligent interpretation should not be rejected if it favours the enjoyment of pleasure The sage Pānini who says in '*Trtīyā apavarge*,' that the third sex will be engaged in finding out means of salvation is necessarily of opinion that the other two sexes should enjoy sensual pleasures. Carry out the commands of Kāma which even gods like Brahmā could not transgress The Vedas, too, are nothing but the commands of the gods. Then why do you show more respect to the latter? Forbear from all disparaging and contemptuous remarks about women in order that you may hope to have the company of the most excellent of the deer-eyed beauties in heaven. Exert yourself for pleasing your beloved and indulge your own inclinations These are the only roots of the tree of happiness 'Pleasure is the good'—is the cry of nature The animals know no other principle

of action than pleasure Children are sensitive to pleasure only. The grown up man, the apparently grave and sober, all seek and pursue pleasure ; the virtuous man enjoys pleasure in the cultivation of virtue and even those who refute the statement that pleasure is the object of desire, find pleasure in such refutation.

"Whatever the motive, pleasure is the mark ;
For her the black assassin draws his sword ;
For her dark statesmen trim their midnight lamps ;
For her the saint abstains, the miser starves ;
The stoic proud for pleasure, pleasure scorns ;
For her affliction's daughter grief indulge ;
And find, or, hope, a luxury in tears ;
For her, guilt, shame, toil, danger we defy ;"

Therefore, pleasure is the highest good of human life The only good of life is the human life The only good of life is the individual's own pleasure We should fully enjoy the present To sacrifice the present to the future, is unwarranted and perilous. The present is ours The past is dead and gone. The future is doubtful The present is all that we have Let us make the most of it With this credo the Lokāyatikas of that remote period of Indian history preached and practised the theory of the extreme form of hedonism, according to which sensual pleasure is the only end of human life. Here, in this stage of Indian Materialism, the School of the Lokāyatikas in addition to its old names Bārhaspatya and Lokāyata got the designation Chārvāka. The word means entertaining speech It is derived **Chārvāka.**

from *charva*, chewing, grinding with the teeth, eating, swallowing virtue and vice "While you live drink, for once dead you never shall return" "As long as he lives let a man live happily, after borrowing money, let him drink ghee" The propagation of this eroticism was the first step towards downfall of the elevated system of Lokāyata which was considered so long as the only system of Philosophy in India.

The Buddhists and the Jains

In this stage of Indian Materialism the Buddhists and the Jainas came to the field of philosophy to preach spiritualism. In their first appearance they pretended to be the successors of the old heretics, *i.e.*, the followers of Bṛhaspati, by directing their attacks mainly against the doctrines of sacrifice as actually preached and practised in the Vedic School They became, like the Lokāyatikas, very popular for the time being, as the minds of the people were still then captured by Materialistic doctrines But as time went on the state of things began to change The Chārvākas came to know what these new comers really were They led their opposition against the orthodox Buddhists and Jains as they previously did against the Vedicists The result of this opposition was that the Lokāyatikas met with opposition from the side of the Vedicists as well as from the side of the Buddhists and the Jains. By this simultaneous attack from various sides they were for the first time pushed to the corner. The philosophers of the Vedic Schools now became very strong being aided by the spiritualistic doctrines of the new heretics—

the Buddhists and the Jains, and took the field as successors of the sages of old and repelled the attacks on the permanent principles of spirituality As time passed, these Vedicists appeared on the field one after another in order to oppose the heretics in general—both old and new—the Lokāyatikas, the Buddhists and the Jainas They opposed the materialistic views of the old heretics and the anti-vedic doctrines of the new heretics The pioneer of these advocates of the orthodox Vedic Schools was perhaps the sage Gotama, who adduced very strong arguments against the theory of *Dehātma vāḍa* or the theory, which preaches that the body is the Self, of the old heretics and established the theory that the body is different from the soul Then came Kaṇāda who made an endeavour to refute the theory of Svabhāva-vāda or Naturalism of the old heretics and propagated the theory that the diversity of creation is not possible for svabhāva which is unconscious The diversity, according to Kaṇāda is produced from the atoms, which are unconscious, through the will of God in agreement with the doings of the previous births. After him Kapila, who is regarded by some as representing the oldest tendency of philosophy, came to the field and formulated his arguments in favour of Dualism for which the field had already been prepared by his predecessors. Then came Patanjali who propagated the theory of Yoga and tried to establish the theory of the existence of God. When, through the influence of these teachers the mass mind was almost

The six orthodox schools

inclined towards spiritualism and belief in the transmigration and spiritual nature of soul took almost complete possession of the mass mind of India, Jaimini apppeared and made an attempt to establish by argumentative discussions that the Vedas are infallible and authoritative, that Karma or action is more powerful than even God, if there be any, that for the sake of the purification of mind the performance of Karma is indispensable When through the influence of Jaimini, the minds of the people became prepared, by performing duties, sanctioned by the Vedas, for conceiving the spiritualistic soul, and the influence of anti-Vedic doctrines and tendencies was, for the time being, almost removed from the mass mind, Vyāsa came to the field and preached Spiritualistic or idealistic philosophy Lokāyata, being thus opposed by these strong enemies, grew impatient and leaned towards spiritualism This stage may be called the second or the middle stage of its downfall

Lokāyata leaned towards spiritualism

In this stage it admits, gradually, the identification of self with the sense-organs, the principle of life and with mind shaking off its old doctrine of Dehātmavāda or the doctrine of the identification of Self with the body The first view or the doctrine of the identification of Self with the sense organs, is based on the facts that consciousness and bodily movements, follow from the initiation of the senses and that the judgments expressed in 'I am blind' showing the identity of the self with the sense-organs are universally accepted as valid. Still opposed by the spiritualists it maintains that the vital

principle itself is really the source of intelligence as the senses depend for existence and operation on it. When this view too was attacked its sponsors came to maintain that consciousness is a quality of the mind. The other organs are only the means of indeterminate sense-knowledge. It is mind alone that introduces the element of determinateness. More over, mind controls by its power of volition the outer-organs and may persist and function singly even when the latter happen to be absent. Therefore the mind is the true self. All these have been recorded by Sadānanda in his Advaita Brahma Siddhi. 'Sadānanda speaks of four different materialistic Schools. The chief point of dispute is about the conception of the soul. One School regards the soul as identical with the gross body, another of the senses, a third with breath, and the fourth with the organ of thought.' On the other hand, the Lokāvatikas had so long maintained that perception is the only source of knowledge. Now being severely attacked by its opponents, who maintained the authority of inference, it showed for the first time its leaning towards admitting inference as a source of knowledge. In the first step it said that for practical purposes *probability* was sufficient. At the sight of smoke rising from a certain place there arises in the mind a sense of the probability of fire and not of its certainty. This is enough for all practical purposes. For this end there is no need to assume the existence of a distinct kind of evidence, called *Inference.* When further

pushed to the corner this school said that the followers of this school were prepared to accept inference as a means of right knowldege as it was useful in our daily life. But the mechanical form of inference as proposed by the Buddhists and others can by no means be considered a medium of right knowledge as it is thoroughly impracticable for daily use. In other words, there are two classes of Inference—one class inferring something restored in future and the other class inferring what has already taken place The inference about what is past is accepted and the inference about what has not been perceived such as Paraloka, God, Soul is rejected Purandara flourished, in this period, as an advocate of the Chārvāka school S'ankara Kamalas'īla, Abhayadeva, Jayanta and the unknown author of Sarvamata Sangraha record his views Being pushed, further, to the corner, this school accepted, in this stage, even ether as an element. Guṇaratna keeps its record

Fourth Stage

But every action has its reaction The opposition of the Vedicists against the Materialists was not without its re-action As they were supported by the Buddhists and the Jains in their attack on the Vedic sacrifices, the old heretic oppositionists became very powerful They got their general name
Nāstika Nāstika, in this period. Vedic rites proper were gradually more or less pushed to the background New scriptures were then in course of preparation, fully adapted to the needs,

tastes and tendencies of the changing times but not entirely divorced from all connection with the Vedas Voluminous Tāntric and Paurāṇic works grew up in this period and satisfied the needs of the times As these Schools were originated for satisfying the needs of the people of different mentalities elements of different nature were expressly visible in them As representatives of the old heretic School, whose influence was still then predominant in the country, they included and adopted the popular doctrines regarding indulgence of the senses, and as successors of the spiritualistic schools, they gave them an esoteric purpose and thus modified them to some extent Since then, the period of the great Hindu revival after the fall of Buddhism, India has been popularly Vedic *i.e.* Paurāṇic and Tāntric in her broad outlook. For this reason, perhaps, in the centuries after Christ we meet with very few names of Lokāyata Philosophers, though the system must have been in existence even so late as the time of Haribhadra; Guṇaratna, S'āntarakṣita; Kamalas'ila; Siddhasena; Abhayadeva; Krisṇamis'ra; Sriharsa; Jayanta; Sadānanda; Mādhavāchāryya etc who have recorded and criticised its theories in their works It was S'ankara and his school who did not even consider the Chārvāka school as a system of philosophy, although, in Sarva Siddhānta Sangraha he maintains that by adopting only those means which are seen such as agriculture, the tending of cattle, trade, politics and

The Tantras and the Purāṇas

administration etc a wise man should always endeavour to enjoy pleasures, here, in this world It was with S'ankara and his school, that the great reaction proceeded against Indian Materialism which in Mādhavāchāryya, who considered the Lokāyata system as the lowest system of philosophy, secured the most decided victory

Conclusion.

Just as Plato, one of the spiritualistic thinkers of the west, in his fanatical zeal would have liked to buy up and burn all the works of Demokritos the father of western materialism, so it is probable that these advocates of the vedic orthodoxy, in their fanatical zeal collected and destroyed the original works of Bṛhaspati School of Philosphy, the extreme materialistic system of India. As the Buddhistic and the Jaina Schools were spiritualistic in essence they did not meet with total annihilation Or, it may be, that for a considerable time, the views of this school became feeble and unpopular after which they lost their independent existence and became absorbed into other schools of spiritualistic philosophy. Although the works of Bṛhaspati were destroyed, the continuity of the influence of his school was at no period completely broken.

We have already seen that the Lokāyatikas got the designation Nāstika as they became at one with the Buddhists Some of the sects of the degenerated Buddhists, in which laxity in sexual morals was one of the features, became gradually affiliated to the Lokāyata school One

of these sects was the Kāpālika sect. The Kāpālikas are a very ancient sect. They drink wine, offer human sacrifices and enjoy women They strive to attain their religious goal with the help of human corpses, wine and women They are dreaded by all for inhuman cruelties. Bhavabhūti, Kṛṣṇa Miś'ra and Kavikarṇapūra refer to such Kāpālikas in their respective works the Malatimādhavam, the Probodha-chandrodayam and the Chaitanyachandrodayam Bṛhaspati of Arthaś'astra fame says that the Kāpālika is alone to be followed for the purpose of attaining pleasure

The Kāpālikas.

Formerly, this Kāpālika sect flourished in an independent form In course of time it became weak and lost its independence Probably the inhuman cruelties or the dreadfulness of the sect brought about its ruin. As Kāma or the enjoyment of sensual pleasure was the goal of this sect it came gradually to be affiliated to the Nāstika form of the Lokāyata school according to which the summumbonum of human life is, as shown before, the enjoyment of gross sensual pleasure Thus the Kāpālikas, like the Assassins, became the solitary historical example of a combination of materialistic philosophy with cruelty, lust of supernatural power and systematic crime Or, it may be that the followers of orthodox schools, through bitter contempt, identified the Lokāyatikas with the fierce Kāpālikas, as in previous cases the Vedicists used freely the terms of abuse like 'Bastard' 'incest' and 'monster' with regard to the Lokāyatikas At the time of Bānaspati, the

author of Arthas'āstra, these Kāpālikas were a distinct sect In Guṇaratna's time we find them identified with the Lokāyatika school which had already become a hated name in the country

The Lokāyatikas were a creed of joy, all sunny Through their influence, at that period of Indian history, the temple and the court, poetry and art, delighted in sensuousness. Eroticism prevailed all over the country The Brahmin and the Chaṇḍāla, the king and the beggar, took part with equal enthusiasm in Madanotsava, in which Madana or Kāma was worshipped References to this festival are not rare in works of poets like Kālidāsa, Bis'akha Datta and Sreeharsa 'Dance and song, flower and the red powder *fag*, swinging and playing, all these created an atmosphere of light amusements from which all sterner laws of sexual ethics were dismissed for the time being and men and women mixed indiscriminately, the green trees wearing red apparel, as it were, owing to profuse *fag* that filled the whole atmosphere over which the April sun threw its gaudy purple rays' They assimilated the element of sexual romance from the Kāpālikas The essential feature of this romance is—love for one, with whom one is not bound in wedlock.

As a reaction against this practice of sexual romance, Vaisnavism made its appearance and the Madanotsava, the doctrine relating to sense-indulgence must have been favourably received by a large number of people. To counteract this evil, the orthodox school of the Vaisnavas

included and adopted the popular doctrines regarding indulgence, but gave them an esoteric purpose and thus modified them to some extent For this reason we find that the Dolotsava has retained the light pleasures and gay amusements of Madonotsava in many respects, and the Vaisnavas have given these festivals a far more sober character in respect of sexual freedom

But the ever flowing current of the Lokāyatikas did never remain suspended for a considerable period of time in Indian cultural history. It made its way in the teeth of all obstacles. After the great Brahmanic renaissance the Lokāyata sect took shelter under different forms in different parts of India. In Bengal, an old sect of the Buddhist Mahāyāna school chiefly concerned with sexual romance gave up its independent existence and like the Svabhāvavadins and the Kāpālikas became at one with the Nāstika Lokāyatikas and the Lokāyatikas on their part incorporated themselves with that community The old element of sensualism of the festival Madonotsava of the Nāstikas, a sanction for the gratification of grosser pleasures, is still found to linger in this sect The name of this sect is the Sahajia sect. The very name Sahajia reminds us of the doctrine of Svabhāva of the old heretics. The three chief physical appetites of man are eating and drinking where by his body is sustained and sexual intercourse whereby human life is propagated. Considered in themselves they are natural and harmless. So the Sahajias say

'there is no wrong in the eating of meat and drinking of wine nor in sexual intercourse for these are natural inclinations of men'

The Sahajiās

In the meetings of the Sahajias men and women take their seats indiscriminately without any scruple and with full freedom. The Chaṇḍāla cooks the food and the Brahmins take it without hesitation Unless hunger is appeased the Sahajias can not pray. Large plates full of eatables are brought on the bed spread before the members Men and women sit there and eat them freely In their joy women put food into the mouth of men and the latter are not slow in returning the attention, and the house rings with merry laughter They consider the Vedas and other holy scriptures to have been manufactured by worldly men for their own selfish ends They have no regard for the Brahmins They entertain no respect for either the priestly class or for their elders Women care nothing for their husbands They revolt openly against the Brahmins, the Vedas and the Hindu society Most of the songs of the Sahajias are about boats, trades, mortgages, farming and a hundred other topics of rustic interest of Lokayātrā They set forth cannons and theories with a boldness which is really amazing. Caste, rank in society or orthodoxy of views are out of the question in their society. They entertain the utmost freedom in thought, in religious and social matters. They are absolutely beyond the prejudices and conventions of the ordinary people. The Sahajias allow the indiscriminate mixing of men and

women. The motto of a Sahajiā woman is—'he who will capture our heart, we will belong to him.' If the man of her love wants her body she must give it. She must give her all without reserve. The Sahajiās do not believe in the established ideals of womanhood represented by Sītā, Sāvitrī and the Suttees who burnt themselves with their dead husband in days gone by, as living examples of absolute devotion. These wives of Hindu scriptures and epics were actuated by hopes of getting rewards in the next life and praises from society in this for their chaste life. To the Sahajias love is religion. They believe that Deha or material human body is all that should be cared for and their religious practices are concerned with the union of men and women. The famous Bengali poet Chandidās was a follower of this cult. But Chaitanya apprehending its corruption and misuse declared himself in clear language against all sexual romance. The Sahajiās did not believe in human soul and in anything beyond the pleasures of the present moment. They believed in *Deha* and in nothing else. On one occasion some Brahmins of the orthodox community were performing *tarpana* in the river Ganges. This was the custom of taking handfuls of water from the river and throwing them down, by which acts they believed the thirst of their departed ancestors would be allayed. One of the founders of the Sahajiā cult saw this and taking handfuls of water like them threw them on the bank. This act attracted the attention of the Brahmins who

asked him the reason for doing so. The Sahajiā replied—'If your water will go to your departed forefathers who are far away mine ought to go to my vegetable garden which is only a mile from here and certainly not so remote as the land of the dead' This sect raised objections against the superstitions and conventions of the orthodox schools Extreme lawlessness characterised this sect

All these views of the Sahajia Lokāyatikas remind us of the old heretics Most of the views of the Nāstika Chārvāka or Lokāyatika of this form are recorded by Chiranjib Bhattacharyya of Bengal in his famous work Vidwanmodatarangini In his account of the Nāstika school we find a blending of several independent doctrines like Bārhaspatya, Svabhāva, Bauddha, Jaina and Kāpālika The orthodox community amongst the Buddhists the Jains and the Hindus were bitterly hostile to the supporters of these views of the Sahajia Lokāyatikas in every stage of their development This is perhaps why its followers tried by all means to hide their societies from the public view For this reason perhaps the Sahajias hold their meetings in secret All their old books being destroyed by their opponents, the orthodox schools, they now have a particular language in circulation amongst themselves named the Sāndhyabhāsā, a language which is not understood by people outside the pale of their own society. But thus hidden like owls at daylight, the Lokāyatikas

of the Sahajiā sect of Bengal could not fight long with the orthodox communities.

After the Brahmanic revival, in the age of Chaitanya they were seeking shelter, and, in Bengal, Bīrabhadra, son of Nityānanda gave them a shelter and converted them to Vaiṣṇava faith. This conversion, however, does not mean much. They merely cried aloud the names of Chaitanya and Nityānanda and there ended all their connection with Vaiṣṇavism. They adopted the Vaiṣṇava creed merely for expediency's sake, in order to have some status in the society which had rejected them altogether. Although, with the revival of the Brahmanic form of Vaiṣṇavism, the Loyāyatikas became very weak and identified themselves with the Vaiṣṇavas, yet the school of free-thinking did not die out in India. It lives not amongst a few but amongst thousands to-day. They are not guided by the spirit of Hindu Renaissance They have now included the Bible, the Koran and even the Grantha Saheb of Guru Nānak A movement of absolute freedom is visible in every department of Indian life—social, political and religious. The advocates of free-thinking of this age are no doubt the successors of the old heretics—the Bārhaspatyas. They have now taken complete possession of the mass mind of India They constitute the bulk of the cultured

Vaishnavism.

APPENDIX.

Some relevant notes :

Nāstika

(1) The word is as old as the Maitrī Upanisad III 5 Nāstikyam VII 10

(2) Pāṇini gives its derivative meaning Paṇini IV. 4. 6.

According to Pāṇini a Nāstika is one who maintains the view that there is no other world.

(3) According to Manu a Nāstika is one who condemns the veda II 11. It is mainly the veda which establishes 'next world.' If the authority of the veda is rejected 'next world' cannot stand So, one who condemns the veda discards also the 'next world'.

(4) The word has been used in the Mahābhārata in the same sense as suggested by Manu.

(5) According to Gita the Nāstikas are Godless people XVI. 8. Kumārila in his sloka Vārtika maintains the same view. (Pratijnā-Sūtra, tenth verse)

(6) In the later works, the word has been used for vilification The Mādhvas vilify the S'aivas and vice versa by using this term.

Lokāyata

(1) Old as Rāmāyana The word means 'dry arguments' or 'vitaṇda' or 'causistry'

(2) It is often used in old Pāli text in the same sense.

(3) The word is available in Patanjali's Mahābhāsya Mahābhāsya VII. 3 45.

(4) The name Lokāyata occurs in Pāṇini's ukthadigaṇa. Pāṇini Ahstādhyāyi Sūtra IV. 2 60

(5) Lokāyata has been recognised by kautilya as Dars'ana Kautilya Artha S'āstra 1 1.

Chārvāka

Chārvāka is met with in the Mahābhārata. Later on, this is the only term by which Indian materialism is designated.

The word chārvāka is often taken as charu (beautiful) and bāka (speech). And it is interesting to find that chāru is also a synonym for Bṛhaspati Thus it may be suggested that chārvāka stands for 'the word of Bṛhaspati'.

Pāsaṇda is also a term which is used in the same sense.

Materialists, Sceptics and Agnostics

Vis'vakarman speaks of a class of thinkers who are enwrapt in misty cloud (nihārena prāvṛtah) and with lips that stammer (jalpya). The subsequent thinkers speak of avidya or ignorance and vicikitsā or perplexity Sams'aya or doubt is another term which is met with in this connection in subsequent literature.[1] The Muṇḍakas and the vājasaneyas use the term avidyā in the sense of anything which is not transcendental knowledge (parā vidyā) or the

[1] Mu Upanisad II 2—8

knowledge of Brahman (Brahma vidyā) and anything which is not conducive to ideal self-realization The word vicikitsā, according to Āsuri, means a mental state[2] In the kaṭha Upanisad (1 20) the word has been used in the sense of philosophic doubt as to man's existence after death 'some say he exists ; others, he does not' These latter are no doubt the sceptics and agnostics of ancient India. Vis'vakarman had evidently in mind (1) those hymnchanters who doubted the existences of India[3] (2) Paramesthin, who saw no possibility of knowing any cause or reality beyond the original matter[4] and (3) *Dīrghatamas*, who was ignorant of the nature of a first cause[5] In subsequent literature we find that the keīyas were of opinion that the know-all does not know at all, while the know-nothing knows everything[6]

And as stated above, some sages according to the kaṭha upanisad, doubt the existence of man after death (1 20.) Scepticism and agonisticism are the expressions of a free mind that refuses to accept traditional wisdom without thorough criticism. In this respect the materialists of ancient India are very closely related to the present-day sceptics and agonistics However minor their position may be in the field of philosophy, they are, no doubt,

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[2] Br Upanisad I. 5 3.
[3] R V, VIII 89 3
[4] R V, X 129. 6—7.
[5] R V, I 164 6
[6] Ke Upanisad II. 3.

the fathers of free and independent thinking in India.

Bṛhaspati Laukya or Brahmaṇaspati, who may be termed the founder of Indian materialism, first embodied his views about the origin of the world in the hypothesis that in the beginning being came out of non-being—astah Sadajāyata, that matter is the ultimate reality. Parameṣṭhin treated matter as the ultimate reality as Bṛhaspati did, but disavowed all possibility of knowledge of the ultra-material substratum, if there were any He refused to extent his metaphysical inquiry beyond matter. Bṛhaspati was a materialist Parameṣṭhin was a sceptic. But they were inter-related. Subsequently Mahāvīra speaks of the Aṇṇiniyās, who pretend to be intelligent but are infact unfamiliar with truth and have got rid of perplexty or puzzlement These Aṇṇāviyās are ignorant teachers who teach ignorant pupils and speak untruth without proper investigation of knowledge (Sutrakrtānga, 1. 12 2). These ignorant teachers seem to be the agnostics of ancient India. Subsequently Brhaspati of the Chārvāka School is pictured as an agnostic of this type. The close relation between the agnostics of the Sūtrakrtāṇga and the materialists of the **Purāṇas cannot be ignored.**

In the Buddhist records[7] Sañjaya, who maintains a sort of indifferent or neutral attitude towards such problems of metaphysical

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[7] Mahāvagga, I 23 24

speculation as those which are concerned with the first cause, the final cause, future life, retribution, and so forth is best known as a sceptic. According to Sañjaya, the same philosopher tends to be an agnostic and a sceptic When he freely confesses his inability to know the ultimate beginning and end of things, which is virtually the same as admitting that these are unknown and unknowable, he is an agnostic. When he doubts or hesitates to admit the correctness of all bold assertions about matters beyond human cognition, he is a sceptic. What we find in the teachings of Dīrghatamas, Parameṣṭhin, the kenīyas and the kaṭhas is represented by the agnostics and sceptics.

Jayarās'i and Tattvopaplava simha

The work of Jayarās'i is an important new chapter in the history of Indian philosophy No work of the chārvāka school itself was known before. Jayarās'i's treatment is clear from the very tittle of the book 'tattvopaplava' means 'upsetting of all principles.'

There were different classes of Chārvākas. A particular division of school engaged themselves in rejecting all sorts of pramāṇas, Jayarās'i belonged to that group This is in adition of what has been discussed in this book regarding the first stage of Indian materialism.

Jayarās'i has accepted Bṛhaspati as his Guru and with his permission demolishes the doctrines of other schools

The method adopted by him may well be called as critical To him there are no valid means of knowledge and to establish his thesis he with the help of surgical instruments has examined different schools of Indian philosophy

The probable date of Jayarās'i Bhaṭṭa is the first half of Seventh Century A.D

Some of the genuine Lokāyata Sūtras rescued from obscurity.

The following Sūtras are attributed to Bṛhaspati, the founder of the Lokāyata School, and in them we find the statements of the Chārvākas quoted verbatim.

(१) पृथिव्यप्तेजोवायुरिति तत्त्वानि

(२) तत्समुदाये शरीरेन्द्रिय-विषय संज्ञा

(३) तेभ्यश्चैतन्यम्

(४) किण्वादिभ्योमदशक्तिवत्

(५) काम एवैकः पुरुषार्थः

(६) अनुमानमप्रमाणम्

(७) चैतन्य विशिष्टः कायः पुरुषः

(८) मरणमेवापवर्गः

Of these eight Sūtras the first four are quoted by Bhāskarāchāryya as the Sūtras of Bṛhaspati of the Lokāyata school of philosophy. The first three are also quoted by Kamalas'ila in his Commentary on the Tattvasangraha and also by Guṇaratna in his

Tarkarahasyadipika.* The third and second part of the fourth and the seventh are quoted by S'ankara in his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtra The fifth, seventh and eighth are quoted by Sadānanda in the Advaita Brahmasiddhi as the sūtras of Brhaspati.*

The fifth Sūtra is quoted by Nilakantha (in his Commentary on the Gita) as belonging to Brhaspati of the Lokāyata school.* The sixth Sūtra is collected from the Commentary on the Sammati Tarkaprakarana named Tattvabodhavidhāyinī of Abhayadevasuri.† The seventh aphorism is quoted (in the Commentary on the Gīta) by S'rīdhara as belonging to Brhaspati of the Lokāyata school.‡

We know from the Panjikā of Kamalas'ila on S'loka 1864 of the Tattvasangraha§ and from other similar sources that a S'loka sometimes came to be called a Sūtra. We also

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* *Vide* Brahma Sūtra Bhāshyas of Bhâskarâchâryya and S'ankara (III 3 53—तथाच बार्हस्पत्यानि सूत्राणि) and the Panjikā of Kamalas'ila (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p 520 तथाच तेषां सूत्रम् From the context it is clear that the pronoun तेषां refers to the Lokāyatikas) *Vide* also the commentary of Guṇaratna (on Sloka 84) of Saddars'ana Samuchchaya

* तथाच बाहस्पत्यानि सूत्राणि

* Vide XVI ii.—तथाच बार्हस्पत्यम् सूत्रम्

† *Vide* Gujrat Puratattva series Vol I, p 70—तथाहि बृहस्पति सूत्रम्

‡ *Vide* XVI ii —तथाच बार्हस्पत्य सूत्रम्

§ तथाच सूत्र कायादेवेति ।

know that works in a mixed style of Sūtras and verses are not rare in the field of Sanskrit Literature The existing editions of Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra and Kautilya's Artha S'astrā may be mentioned as instances to the point They are written in a mixed style of Sūtras and S'lokas, the substance of the Sūtras being sometimes summarised in the S'lokas Mādhavāchāryya in his Sarvadars'anasangraha follows this mixed style of prose and verse when giving the Chārvāka view In view of the facts, cited above, it will not be far from the truth to say that Brhaspati of the Lokāyata school also wrote his 'sūtra-work' in a mixed style of Sūtras and verses and that the verses quoted by Mādhava as belonging to Brhaspati are genuine i e they belong to the lost Sūtra-work of Bṛhaspati These verses are quoted below

बृहस्पतिनाप्युक्तम्—

न स्वर्गो नापवर्गोवा नैवात्मा पारलौकिकः
नैववर्णाश्रमादीनां क्रियाश्च फलदायिकाः ॥ १ ॥
अग्निहोत्रं त्रयोवेदास्त्रिदण्ड भस्मगुण्ठनं ।
बुद्धिपौरुषहीनानां जीविका धातृनिर्म्मिता ॥ २ ॥
पशूश्चेन्निहत. स्वर्ग ज्योतिष्टोमे गमिष्यति ।
स्वपिता यजमानेन तत्र कस्मान्नहिंस्यते ॥ ३ ॥
मृतानामपि जन्तूनां श्राद्धं चेत् तृप्तिकारणं ।
निर्व्वाणस्य प्रदोपस्य स्नेहः संवर्द्धयेच्छिखाम् ॥ ४ ॥
गच्छतामिह जन्तूनां व्यर्थं पाथेय कल्पनम् ।
गेहस्य-कृत-श्राद्धेन पथि तृप्तिरवारिता ॥ ५ ॥

स्वर्गस्थिता यदातृप्तिं गच्छेयुस्तत्रदानतः ।
प्रासादस्योपरिस्थानामत्र कस्मान्नदीयते ॥ ६ ॥
यावज्जीवेत् सुखं जीवद् ऋणं कृत्वा घृत पिबेत ।
भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुत ॥ ७ ॥
यदि गच्छेत् परं लोकं देहादेष विनिर्गतः ।
कस्माद्भूयो नचायाति बन्धुस्नेहसमाकुलः ॥ ८ ॥
ततश्चजीवनोपायो ब्राह्मणैर्विहितस्त्विह ।
मृतानां प्रेतकार्य्याणि नत्वन्यद्विद्यते क्वचित् ॥ ९ ॥
त्रयो वेदस्य कर्त्तारो भण्ड-धूर्त निशाचराः ।
जर्भरी तुर्फरीत्यादि पण्डितानां वचः स्मृतं ॥ १० ॥
अश्वस्यात्रहि शिश्नन्तु पत्नीग्राह्य प्रकीर्त्तितम् ।
भण्डैस्तद्वत् परं चैव ग्राह्य जातं प्रकीर्त्तितम् ।
मांसानां स्वादनं तद्वन्निशाचरसमीरितम् ॥ ११ ॥

इति

Mention may also be made here of some sūtras, ascribed to the Lokāyata school They are not directly attributed to Brhaspati. On the other hand, there is no strong reason to prove that they do not belong to the work of Bṛhaspati. There are Sūtras quoted in some places as belonging simply to the Lokāyata or Chārvāka school, while in other places the same sūtras are attributed to Brhaspati

Again, there is no ground for supposing that all these sūtras belong to Brhaspati ; for we know the names of other sūtrakāras of the Lokāyata school, namely Chārvāka, Purandara, Kambalāsvatara and Bhāguri

In any case, there is no reason to believe that they are not the Lokāyata-sūtras They

may safely be collected as being the genuine Sūtras of the Lokāyata school

The said Sūtras are the following —

(१) न धर्म्मांश्चरेत्।

(२) एष्यत्फलत्वात्

(३) सांशयिकत्वाच्च

(४) कोह्यबालिशो हस्तगतं परगतं कुर्य्यात्

(५) वरमद्य कपोत श्वो-मयूरात्

(६) वरं साशयिकान्निष्कादसाशयिकः कार्षापण.

(७) शरीरेन्द्रिय संघात एव चेतन क्षेत्रज्ञ·

(८) काम एव प्राणिनां कारणम्

(९) परलोकिनोऽभावात् परलोकाभाव

(१०) इहलोक परलोक शरीरयोर्भिन्नत्वात् तद्गतयोरपि चित्तयोर्नैकः सन्तान

(११) एतावानेव पुरुषो यावानिन्द्रियगोचर·

(१२) प्रत्यक्षमेवैक प्रमाणं

The first six Sūtras are ascribed by Vātsāyana in his Kāmasūtra to the Lokāyata school.* The seventh Sūtra is a quotation by Madhusūdana in his Commentary on the Gita, and it is stated to belong to the Lokāyata school † The eighth Sūtra is found as a quotation by S'ankarāchāryya in his Commentary on the Gīta. There it is referred to as an extract from the work of the Lokāyata school ‡ The ninth Sūtra is quoted in the Commentary on

* *Vide* Kāmāsūtra I, 2 25—30

† इति लौकायतिकाः

‡ इति लौकायतिकदृष्टिरियम्

the Tattvasangraha as belonging to the Lokāyata school § This Sūtra is also quoted in the Commentary on the Sammati Tarkaprakaraṇa in the same form and as belonging to the same Lokāyata school ¶ The next two Sūtras are found quoted in the Commentary on the Tattvasangraha as an extract from the work of the Lokāyata school The last Sūtra stated above is quoted in the Commentary on the Sammati Tarkaprakaraṇa as belonging to the work of the Chārvāka school † We are tempted to add here another Sūtra in S'loka form of the Svabhāvavādins who are later on indentified with the Lokāyatikas and the Chārvākas. This verse originally belonged to the standard work of the Lokāyata school The verse is this —

क कण्टकानां प्रकरोति तैक्ष्ण्यं
विचित्रभावं मृगपक्षिणाञ्च ।
माधुर्य्य मिक्षो कटुतांच निम्बे
स्वभावतः सर्व्वमिदं प्रवृत्तम् ॥

In addition to the above, we find some other Sūtras of the Lokāyata school which are directly attributed to persons other than Brhaspati This proves that Brhaspati was not the only worker of this school After him there must have been many workers in the

§ तथाहि तस्यैतत् सूत्रम् From the context it is evident that the pronoun तस्य refers to the Lokāyata school

¶ Gujrat Puratattva series, p 71
* Gaekwad's Oriental series, p 523
† Gujrat Puratattva series, p 73

field. There is, therefore, no strong evidence for the supposition that these Sūtras are not equally genuine These Sūtras are—

(१) प्रमाणस्यागौणत्वादनुमानादर्थनिश्चयोदुर्लभः

(२) कायादेव ततोज्ञानं प्राणापानाद्यधिष्ठितादयुक्तं जायते

(३) सर्वत्र पर्य्यनुयोग पराण्येव सुत्राणि बृहस्पते

Of these three Sūtras the first is quoted in the Commentary on the Sammati Tarkaprakarana as belonging to a work of the Lokāyata sheool and is attributed to a philosopher of the name of Purandara § Perhaps, this Purandara was the author of a later sūtra work of the Lokāvata school in which the views of Brihaspati were expounded The next sūtra is quoted in the Tattvasangraha—as belonging to Kambalāsvatara, one of the earliest writers of the Lokāyata system Perhaps, this Kambalās'vatara was another expounder of the system like Purandara The last sutra is quoted in

‡ Bhattotpala's commentary on Brhatsamhitā, Saddars'ana Samuchchaya Vritti of Gunaratna, Dallana's commentary on Sus'ruta, Chapt I

§ *Vide* The Sammati Tarkaprakarana of the Gujrat Purātattva series Vol I, p 70—एतच्च पौरन्दरं सूत्रम् Most probably this Purandara is identical with Purandara mentioned in the Commentary of Kamalas'ila and referred to in the Tattvasangraha of Sāntarakshita From the foot note of the page we know that this Purandara is mentioned also in the Syâdbhâdaratnâkara

* *Vide* p 521—तथाच सूत्र—कायादेवेति कम्बलाश्वतरोदितमिति ।

the Commentary on the Sammati Tarkaprakaraṇa—as a saying of the Chārvākas.†

Jayarās'i in his Tattvopaplava simha has quoted the following Sūtras

(१) अथात स्तत्त्वं व्याख्यास्याम

(२) पथिव्यप्तेजो वायुरिति तत्त्वानि।
तत्समुदाये शरीरेन्द्रिय विषय संज्ञा।

(३) लौकिको मार्गोऽनुसर्त्तव्य·

(४) नग्न श्रमणक दुर्बुद्धे कायक्लेश परायण।
जीविकार्थेऽपि चारम्भे केन त्वमसि शिक्षित ॥

Krishna-mis'ra the author of Probodha chandrodaya nātaka and the unknown author of Saiva-mata Samgraha quoted the following verse .

प्रत्यक्षादि प्रमासिद्ध विरुद्धार्थाभिधायिनः।
वेदान्ता यदि शास्त्राणि बौद्धैः किमपराध्यते ॥

From what has been said above, we may reasonably believe that all these passages are the statements of the Chārvākas quoted verbatim and they are equally genuine although compared with the vast ocean of Bārhaspatya sūtras now lost, they are but a few drops.

† Vol I, p 69—इति चार्व्वाकैरभिहितम